

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

AID-05 /087 W

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O 051835Z JUL 77 ZFF4 ZEL

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2649

INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL LAHORE IMMEDIATE

ANEBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 7261

AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

CINCPAC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 6854

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 9, LINE 9)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PK, PINT

SUBJ: GENERAL ZIA ADDRESSES THE NATION

1. IN A FIFTEEN MINUTE TELEVISED ADDRESS THE EVENING OF JULY FIFTH, GENERAL ZIA-UL-HAQ ANNOUNCED THE END OF THE BHUTTO GOVERNMENT, DECLARED HIMSELF CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR AND PROMISED NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER.

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2. ADDITIONAL PRINCIPAL POINTS IN ZIA'S SPEECH WERE:

---BOTH PPP AND PNA LEADERS ARE IN "PROTECTIVE CUSTODY";

---POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS SUSPENDED UNTIL AN UNSPECIFIED TIME BEFORE ELECTIONS;

---THE SURVIVAL OF THE COUNTRY DEPENDS ON THE RESTORATION

OF DEMOCRACY;

---PRESIDENT CHAUDHRY REMAINS IN OFFICE, FEDERAL SECRETARIES  
HEAD MINISTRIES, CHIEF SECRETARIES SERVE AS PROVINCIAL  
MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATORS AND HIGH COURT CHIEF JUSTICES  
ARE APPOINTED PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS;  
---NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES ARE DISSOLVED;  
---CIVIL COURTS WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION, HOWEVER CERTAIN  
MARTIAL LAW ORDERS WILL NOT BE JUSTIFIABLE;  
---A FOUR MAN MILITARY COUNCIL, COMPOSED OF SERVICE  
CHIEFS AND JCS CHAIRMAN, WILL HEAD THE GOVERNMENT;  
---AN ISLAMIC SYSTEM IS IMPERATIVE IN PAKISTAN.

3. COMMENT: ZIA, IN HIS SPEECH, HIGHLIGHTED A NUMBER  
OF THEMES WHICH INDICATE PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL COURSE  
OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS.

---ZIA'S GOVERNMENT IS SHORT-TERM, TRANSITORY AND  
IMPOSED ONLY TO BREAK A POLITICAL DEADLOCK WHICH  
THREATENED TO DESTROY THE NATION.

---DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY CHOICE FOR PAKISTAN  
AND THE ARMY BELIEVED IT HAD TO ACT WHEN IT DID.  
---THE CONTINUITY OF THE CONSTITUTION WAS REITERATED  
THROUGHOUT THE ADDRESS. ZIA'S ACTIONS WERE PORTRAYED  
AS A TEMPORARY DISLOCATION RATHER THAN A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE.  
---ZIA LEFT NO DOUBT IN THE MINDS OF HIS LISTENERS THAT  
HE WAS COMPLETELY IN CHARGE.  
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---THERE WAS NO COLLUSION AND THE ARMY DID NOT ACT ON THE  
BEHALF OF OTHERS (UNDOUBTEDLY SAID IN ANTICIPATION OF  
CHARGES THE ARMY ACTED ON BHUTTO'S THE PNA'S OR EVEN OUR  
BEHEST).  
---THE GOP WILL ABIDE BY ITS FOREIGN COMMITMENTS AND  
AGREEMENTS.  
---THE IMPORTANCE OF ISLAM, REFLECTING ZIA'S OWN PERSONAL  
DEDICATION TO THE FAITH, AND THE STRENGTH OF THE ISLAMIC  
ISSUE IN THE RECENT OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN.

4. WE DRAW, FROM ZIA'S SPEECH, SEVERAL CONCLUSIONS  
AND QUESTIONS. FOR THE OPPOSITION PAKISTAN NATIONAL  
ALLIANCE, THE SPEECH REPRESENTS AN ACHIEVEMENT OF THEIR  
BASIC GOALS. BHUTTO IS REMOVED FROM POWER, NEW ELECTIONS  
ARE SCHEDULED AND THE ARMY AND JUDICIARY HAVE CENTRAL  
ROLES IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY. ALSO, ZIA'S ACTIONS ARE  
A CONSIDERABLE BLOW TO THE PM AND HIS PRESTIGE. THE  
BHUTTO REGIME HAS ENDED IN A COUNTRY IN WHICH  
PRESTIGE AND POSITION ARE FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT, THE  
ARMY'S ACTION IS A SHARP POLITICAL BLOW TO BHUTTO.

5. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT ZIA HAS A SINCERE AND SERIOUS

INTENT TO HOLD NEW ELECTIONS. HIS EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRACY, HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PITFALLS OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS IN PAKISTAN, AND HIS OWN PERSONALITY SUGGEST A DETERMINATION THAT MILITARY RULE WILL BE SHORT-LIVED. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE SEDUCTIVENESS OF POWER, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A VIOLENT AND DISRUPTIVE CAMPAIGN, ZIA COULD BACK OFF FROM HIS PROMISE. WE THINK, AS OF NOW HOWEVER, HE IS FULLY COMMITTED TO ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER.

6. THE INITIAL PUBLIC REACTION CONFIRMS THAT THE ARMY'S ACTION REFLECTED A POPULAR LOSS OF PATIENCE WITH THE POLITICIANS. THE SECURITY SITUATION REMAINS CALM, THE BORDERS AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS ARE OPEN, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND NO CURFEWS HAVE BEEN IMPOSED.

7. IN TERMS OF OUR OWN POSITION, WE NOW HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN WHICH WILL NOT BE ANTI-US IN THE CAMPAIGN. ANTI-AMERICANISM WILL STILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PPP CAMPAIGN, HOWEVER, AND THAT PARTY MAY FEEL EVEN LESS CONSTRAINED IN ITS ATTACKS ON US.

8. WHILE LOOKING AHEAD TO ANOTHER CAMPAIGN AND ELECTIONS, IF BOTH THE PNA AND PPP PARTICIPATE, TWO QUESTIONS IMMEDIATELY ARISE. WILL THE PROSPECT OF AN ELECTORAL VICTORY IN OCTOBER WEAKEN PNA UNITY? THE ANSWER HINGES ON ASGHAR KHAN'S ASSESSMENT. IF HE BELIEVES HE CAN RUN ALONE AND STILL WIN, HE MAY TAKE THE CHANCE. FURTHER IF HE DOES NOT BELIEVE HIS PARTY RECEIVES AN ADEQUATE PROPORTION OF PNA TICKETS-AND HE HAS ALREADY SAID HE DESERVES A LARGER PERCENTAGE THAN LAST TIME- HE MAY BOLT THE PNA AND RUN AN INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGN.

9. A COROLLARY QUESTION IS THE POLITICAL FATE OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO. HE CANNOT BE COUNTED OUT IN PAKISTAN POLITICS, AND THERE ARE THOSE WHO CONTEND HE HAS THE ABILITY AND TALENTS TO RECOUP AND DO WELL IN THE NEXT ELECTION. THIS DEPENDS IN PART ON HOW DEEP AND PERVASIVE THE ANTI-PATHY TOWARD BHUTTO RUNS IN THE RURAL AREAS AND ALSO HOW MUCH TIME THE MILITARY WILL ALLOW FOR CAMPAIGNING. THE MORE TIME BHUTTO HAS ON THE HUSTINGS, MEETING THE VOTERS IN RURAL PUNJAB AND SIND, THE GREATER CHANCE HE HAS IN OCTOBER.

10. THE EMBASSY WILL ASSESS THE IMPACT OF THE INTERIM CONFIDENTIAL

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MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON OUR POLICY INTERESTS IN PAKISTAN  
IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.  
HUMMEL

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## Message Attributes

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